

**File name:** REH1-005.pdf

**CCLAS session:** 15-Daisy-04\_06\_27

- All records have been sorted by segment time (i.e., chronologically)
- Margaret and I watched several-minute chunks of the video recording 15-Daisy-04\_06\_27 and then we went back through to discuss individual records.
- Time stamps in the notes below mark times in the audio recording REH1-005.wav
- Morpheme breaks are occasionally indicated by equals signs in the <Cree orthography>

### **Record 75**

- Daisy's utterance is <mâu=tâh âht=i=k> 's/he's doing like this'
- Daisy has just been handed a book and was asked 'Who is this one then? What is this one doing?'
- Daisy using Set Two, again in a declarative context, and she's simultaneously doing a motion with her hands to imitate somebody doing a handstand (I think)
- This is an adult-like utterance, and the pronunciation target is ['maɔda<sup>h</sup> 'atɪk<sup>h</sup>] (02:34)

### **Record 77**

- **Note:** I merged record 78, which was just <mâtuu>, into this one. So now the numbers cited on the audio recording will be one record ahead of these notes.
- Daisy's utterance: <mâu=tâh wîyi û âht=i=k û u=tih mâtu=u> 'This one is doing like this, this one here is crying'
- Adult pronunciation: ['maɔda<sup>h</sup> 'wijo 'a<sup>h</sup>tɪk o o<sup>h</sup> 'matow] (04:22)
- Adverbial DEM <mâu=tâh> = 'like this'
- Margaret believes Daisy is saying <wîyi> instead of <wî>, because she thinks the <wîyi> is referring to somebody Daisy's seeing on the page (so the pronoun <wîyi>)
- <wîyi û> = 'this one', but the word order is unexpected for an adnominal DEM. Switching the order of the two doesn't seem to affect Margaret's interpretation/translation, as indicated below. I'm not sure what's happening ... but on the other hand, I don't hear Daisy pronouncing the first <û> anyway.
- <mâutâh û âhtik û utih mâtuu> = same translation, without the word <wîyi>
- <mâutâh û wîyi âhtik û utih mâtuu> = same translation, where the DEM <û> is put in front of <wîyi>

### **Record 82** (83 on the recording, see note for record 77 above)

- Adult's utterance is <tân mâsichistit tân âpishîshishit> 'Which is one big? Which one is small?'
- If the adult were declaring 'this one is big', then a Set Two DEM would be appropriate: <mâu mâsichistit> = 'This one is big'. But the Set One DEM would not work in that situation: \*<mâsichistit û>.

### **Record 83** (formerly 84)

- Daisy's utterance is <mâu> 'this one', but her rising intonation indicates that it's a question.

- Potential child error: Margaret says this isn't an adult-like usage, because an adult would have more of a falling intonation to indicate a declarative meaning. So Daisy's using the wrong intonation, but it's hard to tell if it's a genuine error or if she's just playing.
- Daisy is pointing when using this Set Two DEM, again getting at the gestural component

### Records 85, 86, 87

- Daisy's utterance is <mâu mâsichistit> 'this one is big'
- Margaret says Daisy isn't saying it like an adult: Daisy is producing the right verb but she's adding a vowel [a] before it
- And adult would say <mâu mâsichistit> [mao 'mæsɪstət] (24:09)
- An alternative adult construction would be <mâu mâsichistik>, with a final <k> instead of a <t>: [mao 'mæsɪstək] (24:18). Margaret says this different ending doesn't change the meaning.

### Record 88

- Adult's utterance is <tân âyih̄t=i=k mâk wî û> 'What is this one doing then?'
- The <wî> emphasizes <û> to mean 'this one'. Maybe something like 'THIS one' or 'this very one'. The adult is also pointing when she says this, so the emphasis brought by <wî> may accord with that—Margaret agrees.
- Taking out the particle <wî> is fine, doesn't change the translation, but it likely changes the emphasis: <tân âyih̄tik mâk û> 'What is this one doing then?'

### Record 91

- Daisy's utterance is <nimâ âshkw u=hî> 'still these ones (to do)'
- This is adult-like and the adult pronunciation is [nima aʃk<sup>w</sup> uhi] (29:52)
- She's emphatically pointing to some referents on the book page (not visible in the video) and reminding the adult that they still need to talk about those.
- Daisy's using Set One to refer to 'these ones', and I forgot to ask Margaret is Set Two could be used here

### Record 96

- Adult's utterance is <awân mâk wî an> 'Who is that one then?'
- Margaret and I did some teasing apart of the meaning, function, and distribution of <wî>:
- <awân an> = 'Who is that?' (32:44)
- <awân wî an> = 'Who is that one?' (33:02)
- \*<awân an wî> = "we can say but it's not that good" (34:54). So this may get at a word order constraint, where <wî> comes before what it emphasizes, or maybe it just can't end a sentence?
- <awân mâk an> = 'Who is that then?' (33:17)
- <awân mâk wî an> = 'Who is that one then?'

### Record 101

- Adult's utterance is <an mâk wî châkwân wî an> 'And that one? What is that one?'
- <an mâk wî> = 'and that one?' along with the equational structure <châkwân wî an> 'What is that one?'

- I experimented again with <mâk> and <wî>:
- \*<mâk wî an châkwân wî an>. Here the DEM <an> is moved to after <wî>, but maybe this one's not good because <mâk> is in initial position (41:33)
- \*<mâk an châkwân wî an>. Here <an> is moved and <wî> is omitted, but again maybe this one's not good because <mâk> is in initial position. In fact, Margaret says it makes "no sense"
- \*<an wî châkwân wî an>. <mâk > is removed here, and Margaret says is no good
- \*<an châkwân wî an>

### Record 107

- Daisy's utterance is < nâpâu> 'a man', as she points to a picture on the book
- Adult pronunciation is ['nabaʊ] (45:13)
- The camera finally comes down, so when can see the page of the book, although it's hard to make out on the video.

### Record 108

- Daisy's utterance is <chîh=uhp=in=im=∅ châkwâ=yiu> 'he lifted something'
- Adult pronunciation is ['dʒiɒpnəm tsag'wajou] (45:28)
- This is a great example for obviation: Daisy introduced the proximate argument 'man' in the previous record, and she properly obviates the object 'something' in this record.

### Record 109

- Daisy's utterance is < mâu=yâh u=tih iskwâuh> 'Here is a woman here'
- Adult pronunciation: [maʊjah ʊ<sup>h</sup> isk<sup>w</sup>au<sup>h</sup>] (46:15)
- Interesting example of obviation from Daisy, because she had just been talking about a proximate man lifting an obviative object. Now she's turning her attention to somebody else on the page, and she renders that person obviative at first.
- Removing the adverbial DEM: <mâuyâh iskwâuh> 'Here is the woman'
- Moving the adverbial DEM to the end is OK: <mâuyâh iskwâuh utih> = 'Here is a woman here'. This is interesting, and we should compare it to moving the adverbial DEM in a construction with Set One DEM.
- Putting the adverbial in front is unacceptable: \*<utih mâuyâh iskwâuh> = "not good at all" (48:48). Compare this to with Set One, too. (I think it's the same.)

### Record 110

- Daisy's utterance: <tân âyihtik û iskwâuh (name)> 'What is this woman doing, (name)?'
- This is an adult-like utterance, with target pronunciation: [dan 'ajhtik o 'isk<sup>w</sup>au] (49:40)
- Interesting obviative switch: Daisy makes the woman, who was just introduced as an obviative argument, into a proximate argument

### Record 113

- Daisy's utterance is < û u=tih> 'This one here'
- Using the Set Two DEM is OK: <maau utih> = 'this one here' as well, but I noticed that Margaret pointed to the table when she said this utterance, again getting at the immediately grounded sense of using Set Two

- Again, a word-ordering constraint is in effect: \*<utih û>
- Margaret says saying <utih> alone would just mean ‘here’ or ‘right here’

### Record 127

- Daisy’s utterance is <îkihîpâu> ‘he pumps the water out’ (she’s just repeating the adult)
- Adult target: [ik'hibao] (1:05:19)

### Record 130

- Adult’s utterance is <mâniyâ nipiyiu âi anitâh mihchâkimiyichichâ anitâh> ‘There’s water there, there must be too much water there’
- <Mihchâkimiyichichâ> = ‘There must be too much water’
- <mâniyâ nipiyiu âi anitâh> = ‘there’s water there’
- Interesting use of obviation: ‘my father’ was established as proximate by the adult in the previous record.

### Record 135

- Adult’s utterance is <chîhnipîwiyichichâ aniyâ utûtiwâu anitâh pîhch> ‘There must have been water in their canoe, inside there’
- <chîh nipîwiyichichâ> = ‘there must have been water’
- This is a great example of covert obviation! As Junker and Blacksmith (2001) observe, the possessed object ‘their canoe’ will not take an overt obviative suffix because it’s an inanimate noun whose possessor is also the subject of the verb (in this case, he’s the one bailing out the water). And so the indication that ‘their canoe’ is actually obviative is the obviated adnominal DEM that agree with it! Cool example of obviation in input to Daisy.
- <ûtutiwâu> = ‘their canoe’, and the DEM <aniyâ> is modifying ‘their canoe’

### Record 140

- Daisy’s utterance is <boatiyiu âpichihtâu mâchîu> ‘he is using a boat, he's leaving’
- She’s putting Cree obviative morphology onto the English word “boat”
- Adult pronunciation of this utterance: [bowtijo 'abitʃdaʊ 'mædʒijo] (01:25:41)
- Good use of obviation by Daisy, who in the previous record established the person using the boat as proximate, so the boat gets obviated here.

### Record 197

- Daisy has just turned the page, and she and the adult are going through a picture book describing the animals and people in it. It’s really hard to see the page on the video because the images are very washed out.

### Record 212

- The adult’s utterance is <awâyiuh nâtitâh kâapiwiwiyihchh> ‘who is that one sitting way over there?’
- This one is interesting: Daisy and the adult have just been talking about an owl, which they established as a proximate argument. Here, the adult switches to ask about a new referent, presumably a group of geese, although the page is hard to make out in the video.

- The adult seems to use a singular form, but it's not clear because the DEM is the same for SG and PL, and I'm not sure how to parse the verb < kâ=ap=iwiwiyihch=h>.

### Record 213

- Daisy's utterance is <u=yâh â u=tih> 'This one here?'
- Adult pronunciation of that: [ujah a ʊ<sup>h</sup>] (01:26:56)
- This record is cool because Daisy is productively responding to an obviative referent in the adult's speech: Daisy chooses the correct DEM and inflectional suffix as well as the correct adverbial DEM. She's pointing to the wrong referent, though, not the one the adult intended, and so the adult switches to a proximate form in the next record to clarify things.

### Record 214

- Adult's utterance is <awâni=chî ani=chî> 'Who are those?'
- She is clearly using proximate plurals here, so she has committed an interesting obviative switch. In record 212, this referent was established as obviative, and now it's proximate, likely because she is pointing to a specific referent and making sure Daisy understands that this is the referent she's asking about.

### Record 215

- Daisy's utterance is <um nisk=h> 'um ... geese'
- This ends an interesting sequence for obviation, with an error of commission
- Adult targets: The proximate SG 'goose' is [nisk] (01:29:35) without the hefty word-final aspiration, and proximate PL 'geese' is [niskətʃ] (01:29:38).
- This is likely an error of commission: Daisy clearly produces word-final aspiration on <niskh>, which Margaret interprets as the animate obviative suffix [h]. The adult has just used the PROX PL in the previous record to refer to the same referent, and the child responds with an OBV form. Margaret thinks she should have said <niskich>, which has the PROX PL—since she's answering the adult, Daisy should have stayed consistent with the non-OBV ending on the word 'goose' (lots of discussion on this leading up to (01:34:53))

### Record 312

- Daisy's utterance is <mîch=i=u châkwâ=yiu û nimâ> 'this one is eating something, right?'
- It's an adult-like construction, with this target pronunciation: ['midʒo tsæ'gwajo o nə'ma] (01:40:31)
- Interesting obviation points here: In record 310 and 311, Daisy and Margaret are talking about a woman (proximate) who is sewing. Now it looks like Daisy points to a new person on the page and establishes her as proximate and the 'something' she's eating as obviative.
- Daisy's use of <châkwâyiu> is a good example of clearly productive obviative inflection. The word refers to the 'something' that's being eaten.
- Her verbal inflection does not give any cues about obviation, though: She uses a VAI verb that takes an object (i.e., a "pseudo-transitive verb"), but the verb does not inflect to agree with that object. So no opportunity to assess her obviative verbal inflection here.

- The Set One EM <û> refers to the proximate person doing the eating. Using Set Two <mâu> in this context is not allowed, no matter where: \*<mîchîu châkwâyîu mâu nimâ>, \*<mîchîu châkwâyîu mâu>, \*<mâu mîchîu châkwâyîu>, \*<mâu châkwâyîu mîchîu>

#### Record 314

- Daisy's utterance is < û wâwâpîhchîk=â=u=h> 'This one is looking at a book'
- Adult pronunciation: [o wa'waptʃəgao] (01:43:58)
- Daisy is establishing a new referent by looking at a pointing to a new person doing a different action.
- Daisy makes a couple of errors: She omits the first syllable of the verb [wa]. Margaret also hears Daisy make a potential error of commission, where she incorrectly adds a final [h] suffix to the verb. It seems this final [h] is the question marker being used in the wrong context. Maybe this is because she's using some kind of list intonation, but her intonation should be falling because this is a declarative (01:45:00). Margaret hears the rising intonation as well as the final [h].

#### Record 318

- The adult's utterance is < Bently mâu u=tîh âsi=nîhkâ=su=t> 'Bently, this one here is called'
- < mâu u=tîh> = 'this one here'
- Seems like this could be possible topicalization of the name Bently, because Margaret says this way is more typical way to say it: <mâu utîh Bently âsinîhkâsut> = 'This one here is called Bently'
- Removing the adverbial is no good, unless <mâu> is first : \*<Bently mâu âsinîhkâsut> but <mâu Bently âsinîhkâsut> = 'This one is called Bently'
- Likewise, the position of the adverbial is restricted: \*<Bently mâu âsinîhkâsut utîh>, \*<utîh Bently mâu âsinîhkâsut>. Again, there is some likely constraint on the placement of a DEM with an adverbial DEM.
- Using a Set One DEM works too, but the verb inflection changes (01:53:31). The verb stem is VAI <isînhkâsû> 'his/her name is...'. Using a different DEM set results in the same translation but causes a different mode for the verb. With the Set One DEM <û>, the verb is <îsinîhkâsû>: <Bently û îsinîhkâsû> 'This one is called Bently'. The verb is inflected in IIN mode. However, using the Set Two DEM <mâu> in <mâu Bently âsinîhkâsut> 'This one is called Bently' gives a verb inflected in the CIN mode. I don't know why.

#### Record 321

- The subject changes a bit, and still looking at the same page, Daisy's utterance is < mîchîwâhp=ish pîhchîch=â=wîch awâni=chî iht=â=wîch ani=tîh> 'A little teepee, people are going in, they are in there'.
- This one is interesting for obviation, because this single record has a couple intonational units. In the first, Daisy establishes the 'little teepee' as proximate, and then in the second unit the proximate argument is now 'people'. This matters, because the people stay proximate even in record 323.

#### Record 323

- Adult's utterance is <châkwâ=yiu ani=yâ kâ=akut=â=yich u=yâyiu u=tih> 'What is that hanging there? This one here'
- Obviation note: In this record, the proximate argument is still 'people', even though they're not mentioned. And so obviation appears on the word 'what', the DEM agreeing with 'what' in an equational construction, and on the verb. Likewise, in the second question, the referent remains obviated with a new DEM: <châkwâyiu aniyâ> and <uyâyiu> are referring to the same referent, which record 325 makes clear is a goose.
- However, the adult seems to be making an error with animacy: She incorrectly uses the inanimate singular obviative forms for the pronoun and DEMs referring to the goose (<châkwâyiu>, <aniyâ>, and <uyâyiu>), but she correctly uses an animate obviative form of the verb

#### Record 324

- Daisy's utterance is <ani=yâ â ani=tih> that one there?
- Adult target: [ænja a ɛntʰ] (02:01:03)
- Daisy continues the error in the adult's speech: Daisy incorrectly refers to the thing hanging there (the goose, which hasn't been named yet) by using an inanimate singular obviative DEM. This is a good example of productive DEM use in terms of distance, because the adult has just used <uyâyiu> for the same referent.

#### Record 325

- Daisy's utterance: <niskh> 'goose'
- There is a clear final [h] on this word. The referent from record 323 is now named, and Daisy gives it an obviative ending. Here she correctly uses the animate obviative, marking a switch from her error in the previous record where she applied the inanimate obviative to the referent.

#### Record 521

- Daisy's utterance is <chîyi â chi=misichist=i=n mâu=tih âshtitiyin> 'You are big? You are this size'
- Adult pronunciation of this: [dʒij a dʒəmsitstən maʊt əʃtətin] (02:05:04)
- Daisy using a Set Two adverbial DEM accompanied with her raising her hand in a gesture at the same time—again, Set Two comes with making a declaration/assertion

#### Record 523

- Daisy's utterance: <mâu kiyâh mâsichistik> 'This one is big too'
- Adult pronunciation: [maʊ gijah 'mæsətstək] (02:06:16)
- Daisy has brought a toy dog into the frame, she's holding it in her hands, and using a Set Two DEM to refer to it while declaring it possesses a certain property
- This begins an interesting sequence for obviation: Daisy introduces the dog as a proximate argument by using <mâu> and inflecting the verb with an animate proximate subject

#### Record 524

- Daisy's utterance is <mâu utih âshtitik û wî nâshtâpwâh apishîshishiu> 'This one here is this size, it is so small'
- Adult pronunciation: [mau ut<sup>h</sup> æʃtətik o wi næʃtab<sup>wa</sup> apʃiʃiʃu] (02:06:39, 02:09:44)
- I think Daisy is grabbing the dog and commenting that the dog is big for a toy but much smaller than the adult.
- <mâu utih âshtitik û wî> 'this one here is this size'. The noun phrases <mâu utih> and <û wî> are both referring to the dog, kind of like 'this one here, this one, it is so small'
- <nâshtâpwâh apishîshishiu> = 'it is so small'

#### **Record 525** (formerly 524)

- Daisy's utterance is <mâu=tih wî âsh=titi=k (name) nâshatâpwâh apishîsh=i=shi=u û nimâ> '(Name), this one is this size, he is so small, right?'
- Here the adverbial DEM <mâutih> means 'this one' (02:16:44), which is unexpected for me. I'm not sure why the DEM is in adverbial form in that context. I forgot to acquire a phonetic target for this one.

#### **Record 527**

- Daisy's utterance is <u=tih kiyipwâ âh=nîp=uwi=yihch u=yâh> 'this one is standing here'
- This is interesting for obviation: Daisy does an obviative switch that I did not expect. At this point, Daisy has brought the same toy dog completely into the frame and set it down right in front of the camera. She is focused on it and talking about it, but for some reason she now obviates it: She uses an obviated DEM to refer to it, and the verb (stem is <nîpû> 's/he is standing') has an obviative ending. It's like she's switching to an obviative form in order to focus on the toy, which I did not expect.
- However, the verb ending for the 3.NA.OBV is very phonetically close to that for the 3.NA.PL. So she's either making an error by referring to the dog with a plural suffix, or she has performed this obviative switch

#### **Record 529** (formerly 528)

- Daisy's utterance is <ayâpich u=yâh atim=h âh=chist=u=yihch> 'Even when the dog is making a sound'
- Adult pronunciation: [ə'jabɪʃ u'jah ɪ'tɪmh 'atstɔɪʃ] (02:18:50)
- Again, we see Daisy continue referring to the dog as obviative, even though it's the object of her focus. The obviation is very clear on her pronunciation of 'dog'. Margaret agrees that Daisy has made this referent obviative (02:18:31), but that didn't seem to surprise her or even catch her attention.

#### **Record 531** (formerly 530)

- The adult's utterance is <nuwich miyushish=i=u nimâ> 'He is so nice, right?'
- This is also interesting for obviation: Daisy has been referring to the dog in the obviative, but here the adult refers to the dog with a proximate ending on the verb. If the ending were obviative, the verb would have been <miyushish=i=yiuh>. Maybe the adult is recasting to correct Daisy's error, because the child has been referring to an object of focus with obviative marking? This is a possibility.



**Record 532** (formerly 531)

- Daisy's utterance is <utâh mîn âh îtwâyihch awâyih> 'And someone is making a sound like this'
- Adult pronunciation: [ʊ'dah mîn aj'dɔɪtʰ wa'joʰ] (02:19:53)
- Here Daisy is using an obviative form for the pronoun <awâyih>. <utâh> referring to 'like this', and the <awâyih> is someone making a sound, but it's not clear who/what that pronoun is referring to. The next record makes it seem as if <awâyih> refers to some bear (that we can't see and that they haven't discussed until now—maybe just some imaginary thing?)

**Record 533** (formerly 532)

- Daisy's utterance is <âi aniyâh awâyih chishâyâkwâh utâh âh îtwâyihch> 'And somebody, the bear, makes a sound like this'
- Adult pronunciation: [aɪ ɛnjah əwajoh tʃajak<sup>wh</sup> əda jədɔɪtʃ] (02:23:07)
- So it appears the 'someone' from the previous record refers to the 'bear', and all the words referring to this referent are obviated. This is more expected, because the dog was the previous focus, and so now they're talking about something else.

**Record 649** (formerly 648)

- Adult's utterance is <tân âyiht=i=k û> 'What is this one doing?'
- The adult has just turned to a new page in the book and asked Daisy this question, so she's establishing a new proximate referent (but we can't see the page on the video)

**Record 650** (formerly 649)

- Daisy's utterance is <mini=hîsû> 'she is giving herself a drink'
- Adult pronunciation: [mɪn'hɪsɔw] (02:24:06)

**Record 651** (formerly 650)

- Daisy's utterance: <minihkwâkin> 'a cup'
- Adult pronunciation: [mɪn<sup>h</sup>'kɔɡɪn] (02:24:26)
- I'm not sure why this isn't obviated, because the person doing the drinking has been established as proximate. Hard to say if this is really an error, though.

**Record 653** (formerly 652)

- Daisy's utterance: <âkuh û wîyi mini=hî=su=u=h> 'Is this one giving herself a drink?'
- Adult pronunciation: ['æku u wi mɪn'hɪsuw<sup>h</sup>] (02:25:19)
- Again, the person doing the drinking is proximate, as established by the adult in 649.

**Record 656** (formerly 655)

- Daisy's utterance is <ani=tih âsht=â=yich ani=yâ châkwâ=yiu> 'That thing is sitting there'
- Adult pronunciation of this: [ɛnta ʃ<sup>h</sup>dajdz ɛnɔja tsagwajo] (02:28:01)
- Because the person doing the drinking was established as proximate, this other 'thing' is now obviated. This is clear by the adnominal DEM. Daisy commits a possible error of

omission, because she leaves the obviative suffix off <châkwâ=yiu>, but that could be because she's rushing, or we could consider the next record to be a restart

**Record 657** (formerly 656)

- Daisy's utterance is < ani=tih mîn âi âkutâyich châkwâ=yiu> 'and another is hanging there'
- Adult pronunciation of this: [ɛnt<sup>h</sup> min aɪ aku'dajtʃ tsag'wajo] (02:28:49)
- Good obviation usage here too